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A N
A N S W E R
T O A
SEDITIONVS PAMPHLET,
INTITULED,
PLAIN ENGLISH.

WHEREIN
The Reasons against an *Accommodation*
are Answered; the miseries of the Kingdome in ge-
nerall laid open, and shewn to be kept up, for
the maintenance of a few persons of
decayed Fortunes:

A N D
An Application to the much wronged City.

— *Leges, signataꝝ, jura,*
Et causas, non fata sequor —



Printed in the Yeare,
1643.

1643
(2)
An Answer to a seditious Pamphlet, Intituled,
PLAIN ENGLISH.



After so many Treasonable Pamphlets, the sale of which, if wisely managed, would have much eased the conscience of *Publique Faith*, there is come into my hands a piece of most rare sedition. Wherein the wit of malice (much improved by prosperous mischiefs, and grown impudent by a long successfull practice on this distracted Nation) hath taken to it selfe a strange boldnesse, to represent unto us a cleere image of the sad confusion, ready to swallow up both King and people: and yet, prodigiously confident in the arts of perswasion, hopes to make the continuance of it appeare lovely, though in its own colours, and to be popular, though pleading against the happines of the people. Whether Statesmen, or Lecturers have the greatest influence in this difficult undertakings, to gaine such absolute Empire over our affections, that we should grow so tame, as to be commanded to take pleasure in our sufferings (who yet were of such tender feeling lately, that the happiness of this Kingdom, which other Nations lookt upon with envy, because not every way compleat, was to us not tolerable) and to provide for a continuall supply of calamity, by adding fuell from the much decayed fruits of honest industry, which is all one, as if it should be voted That every man should part with a twentieth part of his Estate, to buy wood to fire the remainder with) I leave to others to conjecture, according as they shall find the abuse of Religion, or Policy more predominant. This I know, the cunning of the former (still clouded in generall notions, and so fitted by wandering plausibilities to abuse halfe-witted men) hath been as fatall to this wisely tempered, and therefore long continued Monarchy (for age, and strength in Kingdomes as well as men, are certain arguments of a healthy constitution) as the Religion of the latter, hath been destructive of true godlinesse.

I shal cleerly deliver my apprehension, & I beseech all those who have lift up their hands against their lawfull Sovereigne, or by contributions have put sinewes into other Armes, and hired them to fight against, and murder Him, to enter into a strict examination of their actions, and seriously to consider, what accompt they can be able to render, when they shall appeare before the dreadfull tribunall of the Almighty, whose Vice-gerent the King is. Where they must expect to be charged with perjury, as having violated the oath of Allegiance, taken in relation to his Person, and in which they swore to defend His Life, preserve His Rights, and Honour, to their utmost power; with murder, as committing

it themselves, or enabling wicked instruments to shed so much innocent blood; with Rebellion, which is as the sinne of witchcraft, acting against the highest by vertue of subordinate powers; with the inseparable attendants of war, Robbery, spoyle, and Rapine; with Cowardise, that is, a daring to offend God, for feare of men, and as it were weighing their revenge in the ballance, *expensu hominum, & Dei ira*, to take law from the former. Certainly the weight of these accusations will eternally sink them, and me thinks the contemplation of so high guilt should strike a trembling into all their joynts, and produce horror, amazement and confusion of soule.

I heartily wish, men would be more familiar in their own breasts, and consult that great obligation which conscience layes upon them in this point. For it is a scandall to Religion, and we may with some grounds suspect the Christianity of many, when we consider, that one Ordinance of the Houses (a heaue one indeed, and which declares their right to our whole Estate, and makes all of us but tenants at will) hath made more converts to the King, then the thirteenth Chapter to the *Romans*, applyed to the Laws of this Land, and the oathes we stand obliged by. It is sufficient for the Kingdomes happinesse, that they are at last willing to yeelde their obedience, as being sensible of the calamities which they have pulled upon themselves, but it is not sufficient for their own eternall felicity, unless they doe it, as being sensible of their duty.

There are two motives, either of which is strong enough to settle our sad distractions by an happy Accommodation; if the people would be honest or wise: the wounds would quickly heal up. For they can neither fight against their King innocently, nor reasonably. If it were not a crime of an high nature, yet it were folly in a high degree, to Arme those who justify oppressing them, that is, to beare the guilt of warring against their Sovereigne, and the misery of striking themselves. For they have learnt by sad experience, those Arms which are lift up against the King, recoil into their own bowels.

I finde both in City, and Countrey, a generall inclination to Peace, the people being weary of that part of Popery, which they had unwarily entertained, to beate and whip themselves.

I find likewise some few engaged persons: deeply vexed at this common defection to obedience, and they threaten these penitents, as so many Apostates, and though they cannot condemne, yet they hate their repentance, perceiving themselves unfortunate in the peoples constancie, upon whose miseries they had raised glorious structures of wealth, honours, offices, and commands, which may now fall with the contri-

vers, because the Many were not obstinate in folly. It was hoped, when they had prevailed upon our understanding, by disputing us into an imaginary happinesse, beyond that of *Utopia*, they might have mastered our sense too, which for some time they did, but when their pressures (which we swallowed with much patience, while they appeared phisick, and some spaces of intermission were allowed) became our daily foode, we began to beleieve what we felt, not what others voted. Upon this coldnesse to advance private ends, with hazard of publique destruction, there are strong endeavours, and I hope the last essayes of dying tyranny, to keep up in some, recover in others, their causelesse disaffection to His Majesty, and they omit no ill meanes to compasse a worse end. To let passe the late disrespect to His Majesty in His Messenger, when they were invited to more civility, by His kinde reception of a Petition of no welcome nature, as being contrived by some disaffected persons, though His Majesty were confident of the good affection of His City, which He evidently discernes is overawed by their and his enemies, and which was frighted by armed Troopes, so that they could not appeare with safety at the reading His gracious Answer, (what ever Mr. *Pym*s glosse put upon it suggest to the contrary) I verily beleieve the wise and honest part of the City, which were not all guilty, except in suffering it, would give more money, than *Publike Faith* hath cheated others of, to redeem the carriage of this day from history. How will their Children blush, when they shall meet in the City Annales; with this passage; *After ten dayes waiting and attendance*, they were content to heare their good King, because M. *Pym* had then finished his invective, & was at leasure to come into their Common-Hall, and raile against him. And to say nothing of that false, seditious Declaration published in his name (it being not enough to impose false designs upon him, and misinterpret his actions and intentions, unless they venture upon a necessary impudence, to bely His writings also, which yet a short time must certainly discover) I shall confine my thoughts to some briefe considerations upon occasion of a most virulent pamphlet entituled *Plain English*. A piece of the most desperate malice and professed sedition, our language was ever guilty of. The *Florentine* wrote but tame politiques, compared to his principles, who allows himselfe a full loosenesse from all bonds of government, and takes no check from either Law or conscience.

His entrance is very ominous, I meete in the Frontispiece with this sentence, *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur*. How ever he meant the application, this is the rule, by which the disturbers of this State have wrought

wrought our miseries, deceiving the People, hath been the reall foundation upon which they have erected such vast and aery fabriques of preferments, according to the measure of their ambition, and covetousnesse, and as those corrupt affections have suggested models.

I wil begg one thing of the People, (and I shall desire it more earnestly, because it doth infinitely conduce to their good) that they will allow themselves the libertie to judge, as of the misery, which they too evidently discern by sense, so of the causes of those violent distempers, which they may easily finde out, if they will call their memory to account for the actions of some yeeres lately past : I am confident I can leade them backward to the spring-head of their calamity, and shew the fountain from which these streames of blood have issued, that is, I can name unto them their plausible enemies, who have pulled upon them disease and death, under the names of remedies.

We were in a condition not long since, which all the world thought happy, but our selves; and the truth is, though we enjoyed a full measure of felicity (as a secure peace, plenty at home, and free trading in all parts, and which is the blessing of all, undistracted consciences, all conforming with Godly Zeale, and calme affections to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England) yet there were some miscarriages in Government, which many wise and honest men did wish amended. Let them be more or lesse. His Majesty redressed what ever was called a grievance, and that with such additional favours, out of conscience of satisfaction for some former sufferings, that wee may thanke God for our bad Judges, and thinke our selves happy in those short misfortunes, which were the mother of lasting blessings upon us and all posterity.

Now the businesse of the Common-wealth was at an end, the publike interest being to fully provided for, we could not finde out a capacity off farther graces, and we expected the short time they would have neede to continue the Assembly, would have beene spent in a reall acknowledgement of those favours, not to be presented even in the best times, and that they would have encouraged after Princes to deserve highly of their People, by as high a gratitude, in settling a plentifull revenue, and making him a glorious Prince above his Progenitors, according as they had promised him and us, since he had performed his part, and made us a more happie people than our Ancestors.

But instead of such noble thoughts, we finde private interest to give law to their proceedings, and discover vehement desires in some persons to certaine great offices, and unlesse they may have their longing,

all must miscary. The King not conceiving the not satisfying inordinate appetites could create any mischiefs, (because they could onely come from the people, whose good in this He chiefly respected, (for the world knows what overtures were made, if such might be preferred) and they had small reason to revenge so great a courtelie) He bestowes offices, in relation to publique interest, upon men of known affection to the laws and liberties of their Countrey, and such whose honesty still engages them to the weaker side, as opposing the Court, when most potent, in behalfe of the subject, and now partaking in its sufferings, when popular fury tramples on just authority.

Though this might satisfie their reason, it could not their ambition, which as it produces gallant things, and though a vice is oftentimes the mother of vertues, when it works prosperously, and without interruption, so like to choler adust, if obstructed, & stopped in its course, is a dangerous passion, and ends in burning fevers and madnesse. A way is contrived, which will certainly lead them to their designed preferments, and that is to get the disposall of all into their owne power, (it would have appeared grosse, even to the peoples apprehension, to demand aloud, offices for themselves, and they would hardly have been brought to lose their lives in this quarrell, and yet they hazard them, and their soules to boot, in a more unreasonable cause: for when those men did not dare to require plainly a lesse thing, to be incumbents, they disguise this in a higher request, and challenge to be patrons of the great offices in State, and it were very strange if they would not look upon themselves, as the fittest persons to bestow them upon. But this they will not aske, till such time as they have reduced the King into such condition, as he dare not deny, and therefore so order it, that they will then petition for it, when they have power to command. The fittest meanes to effect this was to settle the *Militia* by sea and land, in such hands, as they could give motion to, and accordingly they desire the King to order the strength of the Kingdome as they direct, upon pretence of apparent dangers; (such is the Treason of the clout, and that designe of the plague upon the principall Members, for which it deserved to have been voted out of the City, if at least upon a judicial tryall, it could not plead being sent for, and produce private instructions to that purpose; but if so, for ought I know, it came thither as legally, as their other Petitioners, and I am confident with a lesse murderous intent, though some may impute the harmlesse carriage of it selfe amongst them, to the prudent and happy fore-sight of those worthy Gentlemen, who (it is said) had their Antidotes out of their pockets, before the danger was unsealed.

ed. However the Kingdome certainly did tremble at the very thought of some not improbable consequences, for suppose some should have petitioned that the Commons might be shut up, because the plague was amongst them, and they were not able to shew any priviledge they had above ordinary men to infect others, or at least, that *M. Pym*, *Sir Gilbert Gerard*, and the others, who were more familiar with the infection, should abstaine from the House, and then who should have discovered so many after-plots and conspiracies to the people)

But His Majesty, not seeing probable grounds of feare from forraign enemies, and not desirous to raise up do nesticque, by tempting them to be willing to hurt, when they were enabled so to do, thinkes it more convenient for the quiet of the Kingdome, to maintain the good old wayes of defence, which experience, the most faithfull argument, had manifested to be a sufficient provision for the safety of this land. Vpon this, His Navy, Forts, Armes and Ammunition are seized upon, and being deusted of all power, they conceive him well prepared, for what was cheifly intended, and now was ripe for execution, the modest proposall of misplacing the great offices of the Kingdom, notwithstanding their carriages were unblamable, and putting themselves in their room, of whom they had a better opinion. I must professe my apprehension: By this one denyall, He hath deserved more of His Subjects, then by all former graunts, notwithstanding they much exceed all the graces of His Predecessors, though put together. And yet this was the thing for which the misled people hazard their lives, and sacrifice their liberty, their estates, the lawes, to obtaine that by war, which would robb them of the benefits of Peace.

The patterne was taken from the Reigne of *Henry* the third, and the same scene of misery was likely to be renewed, though the Actors varied. For we may make a probable conjecture of things to come by things past, the causes being equal and proportionable, and history, if prudently observed, is a faithfull prophceye. The King was forced to misplace His faithfull servants, to make roome for those, who were really his masters, and the managery of the Royall estate is committed to foure and twenty Cominissioners, or Tribunes of the people. The cheif of them perceive this power too much divided to satisfie their interests in themselves and thir dependants, and therefore force another Parliament, and contract it in three. But this triumvirate also according to the fate of equall authority, ends in one, and *Leicester* makes himself *Dittator perpetuus*; upon this (as Thieves use to fall out in sharing true mens goods, and this often times opens a way to the recovery) *Glocester* out

of discontent takes part with the Kings faithfull friends, and gaining the victory, restores his injured maister to his former power. I beseech my Country-men, by the love they owe unto themselves (for in a short time it would have beene their own condition, and they now are going, though in another way, yet to the same end) to represent unto their thoughts the sad face of that age, and to consider what an unfortunate thing the people was, who were led upon plausible pretences through all those changes of ambitious Lords, and some overgrown Commons, and could find no end of calamity (being still engaged from bad into worse, & what they thought the height of sufferings, being but a step to greater evils) untill they submitted unto the known and certain laws.

I must plainly tell you, there was never any civill War, wherein the good of the people was not most cryed up, and yet least intended. For assure your selves, the Interests of discontented Nobles, or Commons, that have gained a greater power in your affections, are not the same with you of lower ranke, and therefore they do but abuse you, and make you with hazard of your Estates, and lives, and souls, cut out way to their ends. What reason have you to thinke your selves unhappy, and the Common-wealth miserable, if the Lord *Say* had not been made maister of the Court of Wards? No question, you promised to your selves some extraordinary blessings in his discharge of that place; yet for ought I can observe, you might have found as great satisfaction from any other. It is somewhat strange, but some I heare, having had experience of that Court, have been more confirmed in the Liturgy. As you find no unusuall benefits from him (and yet it is hard to perswade you not to venture your lives, to turne out old officers, and put new in their places, when after your estates are wasted, your wife and children beggers, yet the Kingdome will finde a change in the persons onely, not in the justice, except it be for the worse, which you may have just reason to suspect, if you wil observe how things have been carryed by them, even whilst they stood upon their good behaviour, and were to doe exercise for their offices, and to approve themselves the fittest persons) so if you would unpassionately weigh the matter, there will not appeare any essentiall defect in Government, though *M. Pym* and others doe not attaine preferments, as great as their desires. What they would do, when Magistrates, is not certaine (it is possible they may amend, and put off those corruptions, which hitherto they have not so much as dissembled) But I am sure by their former dealings as private men, they have gained so great reputation of justice where they are knowne. With what pious intentions they take so great paines to dispose of the meanes of the Church, I cannot tell:

This I know they have shewed no extraordinary examples of vertue, in disposing their own estates. But not to make conjecture of future carriage by past actions, and it known bad persons in their dealings between man and man, might not prove very vertuous Magistrates, yet I conceive, they cannot looke upon themselves, as onely deserving, and if there be no dearth of worthy men, which of our Laws points out then, and makes it a crime to be punished with an Army, to nominate any other equally capable? with all my heart, let them all be rich; let them all be honourable, I envie not. Yet you are not bound to make them so, they should not buy offices at so deere a rate, and purchase them with your blood.

Observe I pray, by what degrees your calamity is come to such an heighth, and how your warme affection, (which was very commendable) to the public good, is improved into these devouring flames. Your desires of such or such a constitution, were commonly the effects of some mens private information (you being not much conversant in managing the state) who suggest to you, they will be very beneficiall, and therefore petition you, to sue to them for it. And to save you the trouble of all but coming to the House, their thoughts are digested into your paper, this is presented and it is determined, a just measure of granting, that you may be satisfied. If this finde any stop, you are put in minde of your own strength; honest desires armed with clubs will sooner be harkned to. Why doe you not redeeme former errors, by going back the same way, in which they put you, and so Petition for peace, that at last they should not dare to exercise a present war upon you, and turne your own Militia into your bosomes, for harbouring those guilty inclinations of reducing this Kingdom to be governed by known Law again, a thing Alderman Pennington hates beyond His Majesty, or the Common-Prayer Booke? If it were then necessary to assent, because you desired, why not now, when your affections have beene voted, the wisest rule to vote by, and when you doe not thinke onely, and come with an implicate faith, but as pressed on by your sufferings, and infallibly intrusted by the sence of miseries, in the conveniencie of an Accommodation? If they deny, you may evidently discern, your desires were made use of formerly to promote not your own ends. The truth is, a Petition to advance the Kingdomes happinesse, carries in it some what of incivility; for the sence of it is, that your houses may not be ransackt, you would have them lay downe every considerable revenues, which they constantly receive, though they sit secure in the City, without any scruple of non-residence, & therefore unlesse you can assure them preferments in peace, they wil be unwilling to kil their patrimony. War. In the meane time I confesse you may with as much reason, and more innocencie,

follow your opposite interest, and deny to pay wages, onely to keep up the trade of being undone.

That some men should make it their designe to continue these sad distractions, I doe not at all wonder: Profit is a powerfull motive, and ----- *illis utile bellum*, must have strong influence. It is the most innocent excuse any of them can pretend to, and some have ingenuously made it, they know not how to live handsomely out of this way, *Neesse habent peccare, ut honestè vivant*. If you mark it, the point is very consonantly stated, it is lawfull to take up Arms in case of necessity, by which they mean their owne wants: All this is done in their own defence, for the Law (that high malignant, and most unmercifull enemy) would take part with their creditors, and then the remainder of their life, must be lingred out in a melancholy Gaole.

But that many well-meaning of the people, should be ingaged in the prosecution, is very strange, since Warre is not delightfull in it selfe; I cannot imagine there is any carnall pleasure in killing, or in being killed, except it proceed from some high malignity in nature, which their simplicity is not guilty of. I have lookt with all possible diligence into the causes of it, and after my most strict enquiry, I can pitch onely upon this, *That their affections are betrayed to their weak reasons, which beleeving they are satisfied, when indeed they are confounded by multiplicity of words, mistaking plenty of language for proofs, out of inability to examine the premises, yeeld up their consent to the conclusions; That an Accommodation is impossible, therefore vainly attempted; or unsafe, therefore disadvantageously sought after; or dishonourable, therefore unworthily consented to; or Irreligious, therefore impiously desired.*

These are the Heads, to which all shadows of reason in this Libell (as likewise in some Speeches ill becomming the grave assemblies in which they were utered, (who should not set the Furies, and cast in fire-brands, and inflame the people with irreconcilable hatred) may be reduced.

1. *It is not impossible*, The KING woos you to it, and esteemes it above any delight can happen to him in this life, and will accompt it a greater victory to recover His Subjects by Reason, then the Sword, being desirous to rule over the Man in you, not the Beast, and not so much to command your Bodies, as Reigne in your Breasts. There can be no hinderance, except in the perverse wills of some, which he hath endeavoured to remove by all faire meanes, granting to us, as much as
any

any sober man can wish for, our Liberty, our Property, our Laws, our just Priviledges of Parliament and our Religion (if we have not entertained some new worship, since the dayes of *Q. Elizabeth*, and different from that which is established by Parliament) And he desires nothing from us, but what plain and evident Law invests him with. What madnesse hath robbed us of our understanding, to teare one another, without any reall cause of differences? If we deny to any man, (and certainly it will hold in proportion for the King) that right, which Law, the rule of justice, gives, we must conclude our selves to fight in a wrong cause, and though we may escape the enemies sword, yet wee cannot hope to fly from Gods wrath, the sin will deeply wound our consciences, and ruine eternally the inward man. Beleeve it, too much is already done, it will require a long time of repentance, and many teares, before you can wash away the staine of blood which hath been spilt. A deepe melancholy seises me, and sad thoughts possesse my soule, when I but thinke of the lamentable condition of those, who shall fall in actuall Rebellion, *Quibus non vacat poenitere*, who are snacht to judgement in warme guilt of destroying their Sovereigne, and Gods Anointed. Assure your selves, God will reckon with you for the murder of your King, and of many other, though yet living, for you shewed your good wills. *As he that looks upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed fornication*, so he that shoots at any, hath shed his blood, and must give accompt in the Court of Heaven, for the death of those which survive his miserable fall, because the goodnesse of God in preserving, can be no apologie for the malice of man, endeavouring to destroy.

2. *It is not unsafe.* Here especially their Arts appeare, it was easie to abuse us into miserable persons, when we had given up, and betrayed our reason to their authority, but to perswade us against sense, to be willing to continue so, will shew them excellently wicked Orators, *ingeniosissime facundo, sed in malos publico.*

They are acquainted with good authors for this purpose, and likewise Scholars propose to themselves the ablest masters for imitation. When men have long time troden in rough paths, & wearied themselves in the wayes of ungodlinesse, and begin to recollect the comforts & advantages of their former innocence, and resolve to crave pardon for offences past, then the devils part begins, it is too late, there is no going back, for you doe but vainly cast away the profits of sin, which might be enjoyed for a season, and cannot hope to reape the fruits of righteousness, God is too highly provoked. Away with those cold feares, and fruitlesse melancholies, which fooles call Religion, they may rob you

of much present pleasure, cannot free you from future pain. As hee brought them into the snare, by temptations of profit, and pleasures, so he keeps them there by suggestions of despair. So they; the sin of Rebellion is greater then can be forgiven, Though the King wooe you, with all possible expressions of mercy and forgiveness, yet *manet altâ mente repositum*. Though he offer safe and honourable propositions, yet you have small reason to believe they will be kept. I know what to think. And I may tell you what the Italians say, they feare courtesies sometimes more then injuries, and this jealousy is not alwaies folly. I would make it a rule for my own practice, If my provoked enemy suddainly and without ground become miraculously kind and close with me, I shall remember Ioab and Amasa. I ask pardon: my Melancholy is deep.

Wicked man! that doth invenome the wound that it may never heale, and blow that fire, which the teares of many thousand distressed persons in this Kingdom, are ready to quench, by laying down a most unchristian principle, drawn from the depth of malice, which yet common experience convinces of evident falshood, That a Kingdome once divided can never safely close; that there is no destroying the enmity, without the men also, that we ought not to suffer peace except it come after desolation. These are *Arcana seditionis*, the mysteries of Rebellion, to work upon the peoples feares, *una salus, nullam sperare salutem*, and tell them, they must endanger their lives, that they may be safe: They have no way left to raise Souldiers, but by making them first cowards.

But believe it, my much abused Country-men, they endeavour to make you afraid, where no just ground of feare is, & those few persons desperate themselves, because specified, and refered to a tryall by plain and evident law, which they are certain must condemne them, would make your lives their bucklers. They would fall with the Kingdome, and hide their shame in the ruine of this Nation. Your case is infinitely different: for His Majesty is confident of your honest intentions, even in your bad actions, he knowes you were seduced, and that, how ever you have offended, it was in the simplicity of your hearts. He knowes likewise, that there are many thousands in the City, whose minds are with Him, though their bodies are in their power, He looks upon many of you as well deserving, upon many as not at all guilty, upon the rest, as faulty, yet as having suffered more already, then is pleasant to His remembrance, and if you will now performe your duty, after you have seen the sad consequences of your unhappy mistakes, he will not adde to those afflictions, which are brought upon you, by your (in this too) just friends, who being the Authors of your faults, thought it reasonable to be so of your punishment also.

Your

Your condition you perceive, is not alike in respect of your security by full pardon, which (though this libell call it a *miraculous kindnesse*, and *closing without ground*) is alwayes wisely offered by a King to His Subjects, because whoever be the gainer, He is sure to lose, and if you look in stories, you will find it (though they labour to tempt your jealousies) religiously observed. And there is great probability it should be so, there lying upon Princes two strong obligations, both of honesty and interest. For to violate faith in this, were to make a new breach, and such an one, as could not be made up, because there would be no place left for trust, that is, it were to set his own house a fire, without possibility of being quenched, till a great part, and perhaps the whole were consumed.

There are not the same encouragements for the prosecution of War in you and them. You hazard your lives and fortunes, which might be safe, and they venture to save their lives and fortunes, which are certainly lost, if Law have but a free course.

Your trading is decayed, no supplies come in, no hopes of recrewing the main stock, and yet they command you to part with much of that, (and may summon out of the remainder by the same justice) to the end, men whom you lately despised, men of broken fortunes, may live gallantly, and insult over you. Is it not much to be desired, that your trading were restored though Alderman Penningtons Passes should be taken away. If there be a necessity, that he and *Ven*, and some others should be maintained upon your expences, you might much better do it by way of collections, and purchase lands, & some faire seates for them, upon condition they will let you be restored to happinesse, and be acquainted once again with free commerce, that sea from which plenty flowes into this kingdom. Otherwise your fortunes will in short time be exhausted, and you wil be as very beggers, as they were before they were made masters of your Estates.

As you have no reason to draw on in the same yoke with them 1. because you may come fairely off. 2. because you would be impoverished in the progresse, and though you may escape death, (which yet is doubtfull) yet you will certainly loose the comforts of life. So 3. because if the action miscarry (as it is in a hopefull way, there being three very considerable Armies on foot for defence of His Majesty & our Lawes & though you should prevaile for a time, yet you must expect the Kings allies, & indeed all Christendom would then be powred upon you, lest this example, so dangerous to Princes, & the quiet of all States, should tempt others to the like Rebellion by prosperous Treason) the issue of the war would not be equally unfortunate who set you on work, & to you; they

have the greatest hopes, & you the greatest feares. For consider with your selves, you have not the Navy in your power, not any ship attending, & Trunkes prepared for some more holy place (and if you had, they would quickly make them so empty they would not be the price of wastage :) Is it not high time to imbrace offered safety, when those who spur you on to danger, have put themselves in a posture of flying ? I could wish the Ports were in the custody of honest men, & such as would not suffer the Kingdom to be beggered, by letting the wealth of it be transported.

3. *It is not dishonourable.* I cannot find how it should be any losse of reputation, to do that which Wisdom and Religion requires at our hands. To be obstinately foolish, or sinfull, are no characters of things honourable.

For the Houses to do what hath been required, and it may be is expected; I had almost said, what some of themselves are about to do; were to make them ridiculous and vile, in the eyes of discerning people, as the relinquishing their orders, &c. If some faults cannot be justified, I shall not have a worse opinion of the authors, because they are guilty of repentance. (It will gain no credit amongst good men, to be constantly bad.) The shame was to commit them, it is ingenuity to retract; Confession, and amendment is a returne to innocence at the back doore. I have heard indeed, *Tutum sceleribus per scelera est iter* (though if you observe stories, you shall finde such high offenders, as rule their actions by this principle, have not gone through with their wickedness, their growth in sinnes hath been sometimes a reprieve from punishment, but they have come at last to fearefull ends) but I never heard, that it was an honourable justification of ills already acted, to attempt greater.

For the King to do, what they have desired (though at another time, it would have been unreasonably asked, and dishonourably granted,) This yet is a good ingenuous confession, dropt from his pen unwarily; I desire all the Kingdom to take notice, that those which he acknowledges unreasonable requests, and fit to be rejected, caused these bad times, and then an argument is made, they ought to be granted, because the times are bad. *Is now both reasonable and honourable to a true judgment, if it be honour in a Prince to promote, by all possible meanes, the happinesse and security of His people.* An excellent seed-plot of calamities this to the whole Kingdome, and a brave encouragement to disturbers of the publique Peace, that the King should be bound to confirme their faults, and make their unreasonable desires, Law, because otherwise they will not suffer the people to be quiet.

4. *It is not irreligious.* If God had commanded us (as he ordered the chil-

children of Israels journey to the land of *Canaan*) to passe to Heaven through a red Sea of blood, I should readily part with all thoughts of happineſſe here, and endeavour to attain the Peace of God, by keeping up enmity amongst my brethren. But ſince he doth not only permit, but commands us, as much as is poſſible, to live peaceably with all, I like well, and ſhall endeavour to advance this quiet innocence.

It is very ſtrange, that men ſhould with ſuch bold impiety engage God in their quarrells, and though they prodigallſo much Chriſtian blood upon earthly conſiderations, yet pretend to a Commiſſion from Heaven for it. They begin the fray, and then (whether he will or no) they ſubſtitute God their ſecond. What would Heathen think of that expreſſion, which fell from the pen of a Chriſtian, nay of a Popular and leading Divine, who calls the Earle of *Effex*, *Lord of Hoſts*? certainly he might with as low blaſphemy have called him their *Jeſus*, their *Saviour*.

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From whence come warres and fightings amongst you? Saint *James* answers in another queſtion, *come they not hence, even of your luſts, that war in your members*? Conſider with your ſelves impartially, and tell me, if that unſetled *Militia* of their affections, hath not cauſed this ſad confuſion about the other? if envy, at miſplaced preferments, (which hath betrayed it ſelfe in frequent complaints) if endeavours to better their own fortunes, under the ſpecious pretence of bettering our Lawes (which is nothing really, but directing them to ſhow more reſpect and favours to ſuch and ſuch perſons) hath not provoked this publique calamity, and theſe unnaturall diviſions, which yet you are exhorted to ſoment, even for Gods ſake?

For though men be weary of the preſent, and deſire to tumble into their former conditions, it ſeemes not agreeable to the order of divine diſpenſation, that all this ſtirre ſhould be made, this blood ſhed, to produce a cold Accommodation; doubtleſſe the period of this buſineſſe, will be ſome great alteration, *Liberty or Tyranny, Popery or true Piety*. And again he tells us, he hath a good mind to pray for peace, but his mouth is ready to be ſtopt with that verſe, *Ier. 46. 7. How can the ſword be quiet, ſeeing the Lord hath given it a charge againſt England*? The ſenſe of his argument, which concludes againſt any Accommodation, as unlawfull, is this; it is decreed (nor can thy fate, &c.) and we are bound to execute Gods vengeance upon this Land.

¶ He runnes on in this ſtraine, *God hath laid a foundation and tempered the mortar with blood, wherefore the reſt of the building muſt not be damped up with untempered mortar*. Therefore we muſt kill one another, and ſee what comes of it, (if this be to build up, what is their pulling down? It wil be long before they wilinke they have mortar enough, all the duſt

in the land must first be drunke with blood.) In the following words there is a little reason and lesse sense, *There are manie, though not Prophecies, yet sad predictions, which godly and wise men have found by Prayer and observation to be fulfilled upon us before we can looke for happinesse.*

These are their usuall wayes of reasoning, they have a kinde of fluencie of expressing generall nothings, by which they turne the peoples braines, and make them drunke with passion towards the conclusion. Let him and the rest deale plainly, and if they have any letters of Mart from Heaven, wherein we are commanded to cut one anothers throats, let them be produced, and an Order made for printing and publishing them, and we will presently goe about the good worke, and forget all thoughts of Accommodation.

Another argument is, *They ought to suffer no Accommodation, except built upon the foundation of truth, and such an one by no meanes will be assented to.* Yes, very cheerfully, and more cordially then you, and the greater reformers could wish, though they pretend much to desire it. For it is evident by countenanceing, encouraging, nay raising Schisme in the Church, they have beene enabled to hatch Rebellion in the State. They have plowed with Gods Heifer, making Religion the slave of policie, and under pretences of advancing his service, have endeavoured to prefer themselves to the greatest commands.

I have made a search (as deep as I was able) into the meanes of effecting these miserable things, and the accompt I can give relates much to abused Religio, as the most proportionable cause of these distempers: there are a generation of men, who upheld and justify this unbounded power (which hath already bin executed with intollerable injustice upon many, and is equally destructive of the rights of all, when they shall please to apply it) who looke upon the body, in which they are contented to place it, as upon so many friends, which for this service they doubt not wil gratify them in advanceing some other ends, especially they being such, as that body pretends at least to be most agreeable to their desires. *The main end of all is a liberty of Religion, in opposition to those bonds, which the profession (orthodox) in Q. Eliz. happy raigin, (notwithstanding those many attempts in the same nature, as our present distractions, and upon the same principles) and the discipline then established, did lay upon men. It is almost a miracle, that a people so disagreeing amongst themselves, that in one family there are many Churches, should yet unanimously conspire to fight against Israel.* There is some little probability, they may destroy this present Church it is altogether impossible they should erect in the roome of it, such an one as they fancie to themselves. For it is manifest (if it were lawful for His Majesty to suffer Church and State to be miserable

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ruin'd by that confusion, into which endeavours of this nature would irrecoverably put them) should the King grant them a full power to order things, according as they shall think most fitting, they would be as farre from that satisfaction, with which in vain they flatter themselves, as when they first began to make this State unhappie. As yet craftie men (which abuse their weaknesse for private interests) keep them in generals, and nourish in them a belief, all shall be granted, what ever they desire; whereas if they were but so wise, to suffer themselves to be perswaded to compare their particular requests, they would find them full of contradiction. And when this division did once appear, they would by mutuall opposition be disabled to overthrow the good temper of this government. But as yet, they most unhappily conspire to the ruine of the whole, and are strengthened to destroy themselves by nothing more then their own weaknesse, and most indiscreet obstinacie, not to apprehend the impossibility of bettering themselves by this change, with such unreasonable earnestnesse pursued.

That they may more easily be undeceived, I would obtain of them, that they will be pleased to descend into particulars, and allow themselves leasure to inquire into what satisfaction they have reason to expect, in things concerning Religion.

It is manifest, all kinds of Sects (though as much opposite to one another, in particular tenents, as all are to the truth) are used as instruments to advance the designs of some few, and in the mean time, they are sed with hopes, and vain perswasions, that this is a certain way to compasse their desires, whereas the issue (if they at least could go through with the businesse, and alter the present government, under which our fore-fathers have so many hundred years liv'd happily) will be no other then this, when they have been so long employed in journey-work for others, they will not be able to set up for themselves. They will find when it is too late, all those promises, in which they so much confided, are like his, who assured the parishioners (that they might prevail with the patron of the Vacant benefice, by importunacy in his behalf) when ever they did acquaint him with their desire, he would procure by prayer what weather they pleased. According to their different wants, some desired fair weather, others requested rain, &c. (what was too little for high grounds, being too much for the vallies) The conclusion was, he sent them back without any satisfaction, bidding them agree unanimously what weather they

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would have, and then they should not pray in vain. So is it, in this multiplicitie of Sects ; They agree thus far to overthrow our present Religion, and accordingly they are gratified with the discountenancing of the Common-prayer-book, and branding the most able and pious defenders of the Protestant profession with the mark of Popishly affected. But when they should come to set down a particular Creed, and prescribe a rule of Faith, then they would begin to damne one the other. I will undertake those men shall condemne themselves, that is, the major part shall reject every form which is proposed, and vote the assertors of some tenets in them either Schismatiques, or Heretiques : So that it is very obvious, to what confusion the Church of *England* is betrayed, by the undertakers of the great work of Reformation.

That my Countrey-men may not grow cold in their most seasonable desire of an accommodation, because groundlessly declaimed against, as if it should not be founded on truth, that is, that they may not neglect to love themselves, for fear they should not love God as they ought, who takes no delight either in their temporall or eternall misery, both of which they may avoid, if they will not be wanting to themselves; I shall assure them, nothing can be more acceptable to His Majestie, and His faithfull followers, then this condition of settling true Religion, which He conceives the fittest means, as to procure a present calme, so to conserve this Kingdom in future tranquillity. And that the enemies of peace may not make advantages, as formerly, by calling for truth, (as if wanting among us) I shall desire you to require particular satisfaction from them, what they mean by it; If the doctrine of the Church of *England* (which your religious ancestors professed here on Earth, (and as you beleieve) enjoy the benefit of it in Heaven) The King countenances it by His most exemplary practice, and wil consent, nay desire, that penalties appointed by Act of Parliament, should be duely executed upon all offenders: if they mean any other Religion (as they must if you and we differ from them) you perceive what little reason you have to fight on their side in the quarrell of Religion, who are the onely men, which oppose that Doctrine, which the King, and you, and infinitely the greatest part of this Kingdom acknowledge true and orthodox.

I have already removed all those rubbs, which he or others cast in between you and happinesse, and now I have leisure to take notice of some scatter'd passages by which you may guesse of what spirit those
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men are, who stand in the gap (not such as God fought for, *Eze. 22. 30.* to stay the destruction of the people, but) that they may hinder the King and his loving Subjects from mutuall embraces, & you from performing your Duty, and Him from being able to afford you His Protection, which formerly produced peace and plenty in your streets.

*Suppose (if it be Lawfull to be supposed) that the Parliament through the absence of many resolved men now employed in particular services for their own Countreys, out of an intolerable wearinesse of this present condition, and fear of the event, agree to the making up of an unsafe, unsatisfying, Accommodation. This would beget a question, which I hope I shall never have occasion to dispute, whether in case the representative body cannot or will not discharge their trust, to the satisfaction, not of fancy, but of reason in the people; they may resume (if ever yet they parted with a power to their manifest undoing) and use their power so far as conduces to their safety. I shall take the boldnes to apply my speech to the Houses, and ask them, if they have not managed this businesse rarely, and brought things to a fine passe; you took upon you to rule the King, and now the very same arguments are put into the peoples mouths, and they are exhorted to govern you. You were often told by His Majestie, (whose writings have prov'd so many Oracles) though it would not be hearkned to, because your turn was first served. That the same principles, which rob'd him of His Rights, would invade yours, and that the people, from whom you could not long conceal the mysterie, would at length set up for themselves. So that though you intended onely a change of Government, and not to lessen the ruling power, but place it in your selves, and notwithstanding you cried Liberty, you meant but this, That none should imprison but your selves, and that you onely would impose bonds at discretion; yet in truth these proceedings did evidently tend to Anarchy and confusion. You would think it verie strange, if it were made appear, that some of your own Members do manage this doctrine, and try how they can work the people by it. For they must, and are resolved, to be faithfull to their own ends, which they have Christned, the safety of the Common-wealth, and if Parliaments stand in the way, and hinder them in the course, it is their fault, that they are tumbled down. Here is one passage may make you shrewdly suspect fouler play amongst your selves, then you could ever imagine. After this libell hath endeavoured to infuse a spirit of Rebellion into the people, the close is, *Let me not be mistaken, I am farre from the monster of a Democracy; that which I call to the People for, is but**

a quick and regular motion in their own sphere, to do that which the Parliament once call'd upon them for, to contribute their best helps to two great Works, of mercie and justice, mercie to the Kingdom in its preservation, justice upon its enemies in their destruction.] Mercy and Justice, that is, pronounce a pardon of us the six Members, and all such as we shall declare capable of living, by giving them our hands to kisse (they have a sound president in *Marinus*, who regulated popular rage by this token) and passe sentence, and put it in execution your selves, that is, make your selves Judges and Hangmen of all the Kings faithfull friends. But *they must move regularly, and in their own sphere*, mark that, they are wooed to beleieve themselves above King and Parliament, yet they must keep in too, they are not the highest power, *no Democracy intended*. Who then is above them? certainly their good masters, who put them into motion, who think they can set bounds unto the people, as God unto the waters (which are an Embleme of them, and therefore they are joyned in the *Psalm*, who stilleth the raging of the Sea, and madnesse of the people.) and say unto them, *hitherto shall you passe and no farther*. Do but observe, the Parliament are now deserted, as not able to advance their ends, and addressees are made to those belowe them, *omnia serviliter pro imperio*. It is very fit the people should bestow Preferments, Offices of rule, and Judicature must be made more temporary and arbitrary in respect of them, then formerly. There is a necessity of this, and that must give a Law, though he confesses, *this will sound harsh to men even accounted moderate*. Lest the people should check at conscience, not daring to usurp that power, which God and the Law of this land hath placed elsewhere, and to which they have submitted by oath; and fearing to do evill, though good should really come of it, being not satisfied with that Conscientious Lords exposition, *that the Apostles precept did binde private men, not persons in publique authoritie*; all scruples are removed, and they are told, *though the means outrun command, their faithfull prosecution of the end designed them, which is the safety and preservation of the Kingdom, and in it their own, may iustly excuse them, if not commend them*.] Let them bring things about even how they please, this honest desire of innovation will justifie all. I am ashamed you should be whipt with a rod of your own making, and that you are brought into such straits, you cannot condemne this doctrine, except you passe sentence upon your own. For you are pressed with your own authority, *This appears by the votes of acceptable service*.

Me thinks you should take to heart your unhappinesse, that you have

have given countenance, and guided your practice by some principles, which threaten the very being of all Parliaments. As this for one, which submits the supreme Court, King, and Nobles, and Commons, to the discretion of the people, and you may easily conjecture, who will procure themselves to be made their tribunes.

Neither are these reasons, for which they will not hearken to a present accommodation, lesse destructive of future Parliaments. For if the Kingdom must not be happy, till they will think themselves safe, and will not think themselves safe, untill they have all power in themselves, because if granted to the King (according as our Laws do unwarily dispose it) there is a possibility he may fail his trust: It is more then probable, and very consonant to their own grounds, that upon the same fears they will never consent to lay down this power, and return into their Countreys, as private persons, but require some Act to be made (because they cannot vote themselves immortall) that either the major part shall supply their failing, by nominating successors (for if the people retain this priviledge, they are again unsafe, and may possibly be undermined by degrees) or else, that they shall dispose of their places by their last Will and Testament, to the heirs of their bodies, Male, (or female, if they please) for ever.

If engaged men be deserted by those by whom they have been employed, it will be dishonourable, &c. It is a pretty art this, to perswade the people that they set them on work, and therefore are bound to bear them out in it; I confesse many evill spirits have been raised by them, who have been miserably deceived, and are like the Conjuror, who thinks he commands the Devil, but the Devil knows, he is the governor, and employes the other to his own confusion. All that can reasonably be meant by *deserting*, is onely this, That the people, having no reason to take upon them other mens faults, are contented to let them stand, or fall, by known, and certain Laws. If they were innocent, they had just cause not onely to endure, but to rejoyce in a Legall triall, which will vindicate their credit to the world; but if there be no other argument to prolong the Kingdoms misery, but onely to provide for the impunity of those, which were the causes of it, I see no reason why the people should perish for their guilt. I cannot tell what others think, but I will deliver my private opinion; though His Majesty in extraordinary mercy, should restore even to the persons excepted their Lives, which are forfeited in Law, yet this could hardly prevail with them, to put a period to their mischiefs, because they are fallen from so vast

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hope; and they must probably fear the incensed people, who (things once settled) will be able clearly to discern the true causes of their sufferings, and their losses smarting more in cool blood, it is not unlikely they may look upon them with indignation and contempt. In the mean time this is no good argument to persuade the people to maintain them by wars with so unavoidable disadvantages, because they have just grounds to hate them in Peace.

Here therefore let it be considered (nay let it be no longer considered, in re tam justâ non est deliberandum) whether with all diligence (I had almost said with all violence) the ordinance for assessing the non contributors be not to be put in execution. I have sadly considered the distractions of this Kingdom, and these miseries in which a few discontented persons have engaged their unhappy Countrey; and yet I am not so much afflicted with our sufferings, as amazed at the cause thereof, which is no other but this; After His Majesty hath to His utmost power satisfied the publique interest, by providing (with as much certainty as humane wisdom is able) a full security to the people of future happiness, (for he hath not onely cured all our former distempers, by taking away what ever grievances we could complain of, but likewise hath confirmed our health in a Triennial Parliament, by which seasonable constitution, vitious humors may be corrected, before they can grow to any dangerous head, because as in the naturall, so in the civill body, *quotidie aggregatur aliquid, quod quandeq; indiget curatione:*) After all this, the onely ground of quarrell is, he will not suffer others to practise, what was disliked in him, and what, after experience had manifested the inconveniences, he readily amended. They like it well (as just reason they have) he should govern onely by certain and known Laws; but withall they challenge to themselves a liberty and right to recede from them (for particular ends,) as oft as they shall say it will benefit the publique. Is it not strange (I dare not say a considering, yet) a very considerable party of this Kingdom (for this is judged not by heads but hands, men may fight stoutly, though they know not why) nay such as conceived themselves so much afflicted under arbitrary power (not so much grieved with the sense of present evils, as the fear of possible consequences, for though their understandings were not extraordinary, yet their Logique was their greatest affliction) should know no other motive of disloyaltie and Rebellion, then the establishment of this government by meer will? In what a wretched estate are we Englishmen intralled? *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right* troden under

under foot, and not only the benefit of them denied, but men imprisoned for pleading them. It were safe for us, that we could forget there were such things amongst our Laws, our Liberty, our Property invaded, and free-born Subjects, and men that lately had fair Estates, become slaves and beggers. We may rejoyce in some circumstances of our miseries, that there is a universall decay of trading in the Cities, that in the Countrey the ploughs will be forced to grow idle, and the pastures unacquainted with Cattell: for if a way were open to industry we had no encouragement to use it. Certainly not any will take pains in getting, and care in keeping an Estate, which is blown away with one breath, and made not ours, by an Ordinance.

They perceive our sufferings are grown up to that height, that they begin to fear our insupportable injuries may tempt us to impatience. To prevent this, we are over-awed by Armies, especially they in that famous City (late the glory, now the pity of the Christian world.) *Some fear hands, but let them assure themselves the power of Parliament and Militia in the hands of well affected to the Parliament, can leave no grounds of terror in the minds of the City, that they may boldly execute, what ever is, or shall be decreed.*

This was the sad condition of Athens, under the 30. Tyrants, brought upon them by the same degrees, (for many of them were at first reall lovers of their Countrey, but the fatall temptation of power to declare that Law, which was indeed their honour or profit, corrupted their affections) and kept up in the same way, by arming one part of the Citizens, whose particular interests were satisfied, in sharing the spoil & robbery of the other. Indeed they were not able fully to master them, by reason a part of their *Militia* were tender-hearted, & could not so put off all bowels of compassion, as to abuse them enough, looking upon them as old acquaintance, as fellow citizens, as kinsfolks, and remembering too, their own children might one day suffer the same things. Wherefore they require aid & brotherly assistance from *Sparta*, which entertained, made the City then compleatly miserable. Let me ask the afflicted Citizens one question; Do you not beleeve that you owe more to the goodness of His Majesties faithfull Subjects, Our Brethren of *Scotland*, then to any want of endeavouring it, that this part of the Tragedy is not imitated?

If you desire a more full relation (as there may be a melancholy pleasure in beholding the picture of your own calamity) I shall refer you to *an Answer to the Observations*, where if you compare your miseries, and change Athens into *London*, you will find, that Story speaks your griefs.

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But as yet, I have but told you, where you may read your disease; I may perhaps direct you to a remedie, by acquainting you with the method of their cure. And this comfort I can give you, you are not altogether so desperate, because strangers are not (as yet) put over you. It concerns you to make the more haste, and regain your former health, while your recovery is (yet) easie.

Many of the Citizens being spoiled of their goods, many (and those too of the best rank, and most known reputation) committed to prison, and many forsaking their Countrey, this height of misery, animated their resolution into a gallant undertaking. Their former sufferings, made them now as highly active, and certainly just griefs do not cow, but raise their spirits into as just indignation, and produce noble flames, such as will devour the unworthy Authors of their oppression.

How easie is it for men afflicted to perform brave things, by extraordinarie valour! They do but hazard the losse of that life, the comforts of which are lost already; without which, to live, is so far from being pleasant, it cannot be suffered by generous minds. Some Citizens betake themselves to Arms; and as the cause was noble (to redeeme properties destroyed, and liberties oppressed, and to make their lives, not worth the keeping, yet valuable in the losse, as to be accounted by all good men, *Patria pretium*, the rancome of their abused Countrey) so they had happie successe. There is nothing more remarkable in their victorie, then the chusing out, what enemies were fittest to be sacrificed to the injured Common-wealth. The killing of 70. men onely, regained their liberty, two of them being the ring-leaders amongst the tyrants, *Critias*, and one other. That *Critias*, who was the active man in brave *Thermanes* his murder, who (though he had been faultie) did not deserve to be cut off in that way, because he pleaded not his own, but even his Judges Interests for his preservation, telling them, it might suddenly be their own case, and with calme affections, as if unconcerned in the decision (more like to a wise countellor, who respected their safety, then one pleading at the Bar, for his own life) advising them, not to passe their own sentence in him, and not to make a president, in which themselves, and their Posterities might be lost. After the death of those two, the knot of tyrannie dissolves, and the rest provide for their safetie by flying the Countrey, and because few men had preserved their innocence in such tickle times, a Law is made to forget all former injuries, and Athens is again happie.





